VOL. 8 JANUARY 1948 NO. 3

THE

JOURNAL

OF THE

SINDH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY

N. M. BILLIMORIA

Digitized by M. H. Panhwar Institute of Sindh Studies, Jamshoro.

Dr. H. M. GURBUXANI, M. A. Ph. D. (London) J. P.
Principal D. J. Sind College. KARACHI.
BORN 8th March, 1884: DIED 11th February, 1947.

Journal of the Sind Historical Society.

Editorial Committee.

SOHRAB K. H. KATRAK Esq., J.P. F. R. G. S.
DR. ADRIAN DUARTE, M. A., D.LITT.
C. L. MARIWALA Esq., B.A.
N. M. BILLIMORIA, Esq.

Vol. VIII, No. 3 JANUARY 1948.

CONTENTS.

	Pages.
Biographical Sketch of the late Dr. H. M. Gurbuxani M.A., Ph.D. with his likeness	..128—130
Important correction to Dr. Nabi Bakhsh Khan's Article published in the last No. of Journal	131
Press Note re British Cemeteries in India and Pakistan	132
Talpur-British Correspondence, 1826-1836	..133—137
Early Days in Sind, by Sir Richard Burton	..137—147
First Arab Expeditions to India, by N. M. Billimoria ..	..147—158
Extracts from Annual Archaeological Survey of India. Part I 1912-1920	..158—159
Exhibition of Asiatic Art and Archaeoloogy, New Delhi 23rd March —2nd April 1947	..160—165
The Lohanas, by T. S. Thadani	..166—170

M. H. Panhwar Institute of Sindh Studies, Jamshoro.
پاران ايم ايڇ پنهور انسٽيٽيوٽ آف سنڌ اسٽڊيز، ڄامشورو.

IN MEMORIAM.

Dr. H. M. GURBAXANI, M. A., Ph. D,

Born on the 8th March, 1884, Hotchand Mulchand Gurbuxani joined the D. J. Sind College for higher studies in 1900 and graduated in 1905 with Class Honours. He then joined the Wilson College, Bombay, for the M. A.. which he passed in 1907 in the Second Class. He was immediately taken up as Assistant Professor-of English and Persian. In 1908 he was appointed Professor of Persian in the D. J. Sind College and in 1927 he became Vice-President of the College. The year previous he had proceeded to England on study leave and joined the University of London. In 1928 he was granted the Ph. D. degree. In 1940. with the bifurcation of the College into the autonomous Faculties of Arts and Science, he was appointed Dean of the Faculty of Arts.

On the 7th August 1943, when Principal N. B. Butani retired from office, Dr. Gurbuxani was appointed Principal and took over the administration of the College. Though under the age-limit rule Dr. Gurbuxani was due to retire on the 8th March 1944, he was granted an extension of service for two years in recognition of his eminence as a Sindhi scholar and of his thirty-six years' meritorious service as a Professor and Vice-Principal. In 1945 the binary fission of the College proved temporary and the two autonomous Faculties were once again combined under the able administration of Principal Gurbuxani, who was granted a further extension of service. His task was by no means a light one. The phenominal increase in the number of students seeking admission to the College, limited accomodation, difficulty in seccuring the necessary staff—this and a host of other concommitant problems required his attention. Furthermore, from the time that the idea of a separate University for Sind had first been mooted Dr. Gurhnxani had interested himself in its realisation. His experience as an Educationist and his erudition as a scholar of Sindhi were recognised and his opinion was much appreciated. So naturally he was given an important part in the forging of the new University. Fate decreed otherwise,

Dr. Gurbuxani was a fellow of the University of Bombay and President of the Board of Studies in Sindhi. He was also a member of the Academic Council. He was founder of the Sind Historical Society and its first President and continued to remain a member of its executive council. He had a sit on the Governing Body of the D. G. National College, Hyderabad, Sind.

A linguist and a philologist, Dr. Gurbuxani was conversant with Sanscrit and Arabic, aud reputed scholar of English and Persian. He was considered an authority on the language and literature of Sind. He wrote several works, the most popular being the romance entitled Nur Jehan,

His *magnum opus*, however was the addition ot *Shah-jo-rasalo* containing a critically emended text of the poems of Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit, the greatest Sindhi poet, together with a masterly introduction on the life and character of the poet, his language and his philosophy, and details, and comprehensive annotation on the text. This monumental work is indeed a great contribution to Sindhi literature and bears a remarkable testimony to Dr. Gurbuxani's patience and perseverance, deep erudition and critical faculty. It reveals not only his wide and accurate knowledge of Arabic and Persian but his patient research for he delved deep into the sources from which the Sindhi dialect is derived, such as Prakrit a corrupt form of Sans krit. The intricacies of philology in relation to the language of Shah have been unravelled with remarkable accuracy and every difficult word in the Rasala has been traced to its original sources which gives his annotations of Shah's poetry a unique and authoritative basis. In the what will ever be regarded as his abiding contribution to Sindhi literature, Dr. Gurbuxani has collected the genuine and original poetry of Shah in such a manner that it had been said that it is only now that Shah relives "in his original splendour and natural beauty". Every page bears the stamp of ripe schclarship and acute thinking reveal the touch of a master and well deserves the encomiums of praise showered on the learned author by all lovers of Sindhi literature as soon as this monumantal work was released from the press.

But it is not only as an eminent scholar and the best interpreter of Shah that Gurbuxani will live in our memory. Gurbuxani, the man, was as great as if not greater than Gurbuxani the scholar. Those who came into contact with him will always remember his rich humanity, his ready wit and keen sense of humour and his great and genuine affection for all fellow human beings regardless of caste or creed or community or other considerations. He was singularly free of any communal taint, hypocrisy or guile. Almost the last thing he accomplished before the call came, was the revision of the grades for the lesser paid mhmbers of the Staff. Sind mourns the death of a great scholar. but we have lost our friend and our counsellor.

(Adapted from Prof, L, A. D. D'Souza's article on Dr, H. M, Gurbuxani in the D. J. Sind College Miscellany, of June 1947.)

IMPORTANT CORRECTION.

In the June 1947 issue of this journal the article of Mr. Baloch Nabi Bkhsh Khan from Columbia Univzrsity, entitled Plolitical Influence of Persia in Sind in Pre-Islamic Times' (p.p.67-75 of the Journal) has not been satisfactorily published due to press difficulties. The readers should kindly read that article with following important corrections; besides some verb misprints :

Page 72 : Footnote (4) : correct at the end '*Ibn Miskwaih in TAJARIB.* Footnote (8) of this page is on page 73.

Page 73 : Footnote (8) be read with reference (8) on page 72; In this footnote, the verse of Omar Khayam is our contribution. In footnote (3), *insert* the following references, which have been left out, *after* the references to Tabari and Ibn Miskwaih: " MAARIF (of Ibn Qutaiba) p. 326; THAALIBI pp. 64-65 ". In footnote (4) the verses of the poet have been given on p. 74, but due to misunderstanding have been published in prose form. The should be read *in the form of* following *four lines :*

"ولا راى ملكا تجبو الملوك له
بالسند والهند والمعمور بالصين
ولا راي اردشير الفارسي ولا
كسري شهنشاه اذ يلهو بشيرين."

Pgge 74 : The footnotes of this page from (3) to (7) have been published on page 75, while footnote (8) has been left out. Foothote (3) includes the first Arabic quotation on page 75 and the two more references from Farisname *p.* 94 (*not* 948) and Ibn Khaldun II/176. *insert footnote* : (8) *Hamza p.* 40.

Page 75 : Footnotes of this page (1) to (6) are published as footnotes on Page 76. In footnote (1), indert (قزمیسین) in the blank. In (4), correct Rashid *Yasmin pp.* 354, 356. In (5), lines two and three are our additions.

OFFICE OF THE U. K. HIGH COMMISSIONER IN INDIA.

PRESS NOTE.

BRITISH CEMETERIES IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN.

With effect from 1st April, 1948, the High Cbmmissioners for the United Klngdom in India and Pakistan have accepted, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the responsibility for the future maintenance of those British cemeteries in India and Pakistan which until the passing of the Indian Independence Act were maintained by the Government of India The Government of India and Pakistan have made the necessary provision for their upkeep until 1st April 1948.

His Majesty's Government have sanctioned the provision of a small temporary staff in the Offices of the High Commissioner for India and Pakistan for the pnrpose of organising the system under which these British cemeteries shall in future be maintained. Large problems are involved and time is short, but it is hoped that before long it will be possible to make a further announcement on the subject.

It is emphasised that His Majesty's Government have not accepted any responsibility in respect of cemetries which before 15th August 1947 were not maintained by the Central Government. Thus a Christian cemetery belonging to a Mission will continue to be the Mission's responsibility and a private family buriel-ground will remain the concern of the family

Issued by:—British information Services, Eastern House,
Mansingh Road, New Delhi.

TALPUR—BRITISH CORRESPONDENCE 1826—36.

Received from Kasim Ali Sujanlal Esq. of Secundragad (Deccan) translated from the original Persian by Dr. S. I. Sadarangani. M.A.Ph.D. &ea.

Copy of letter from the Mirs of Sind to the Government of Bombay, 27th April 1826.

After respects, may it be known that at this time, the rose of the rose garden of sayyadship and choice excellence, the leaf of the garden of nobility and leadership, the cream of the great family, Sayyed Zaimal Abidin Shah has arrived here. He has described in detail the manner of friendship of Your Excellency, as he saw it with his own eyes, why should it not be so? The connection of sincerety and unity and the ties of friendship and love which have been strengthened by treaties can, with God's grece be externally extablished.

Whatever was previously written by the Thanedars about the arrangement against thieves, has now been described by the Sayyed.

The Government in order to preserve friendship has never for a mement neglected driving away thieves &ca. from the Cutchis, who had come from the borderland and settled down in Sind with a view to getting some business and passing their time in ease. Not a single Cutchi is now to be found within the boundaries of this Government. The Government officers of this land have such strict orders that they do not permit any Cutchi thief or vagabond to stay here. The moment we heard of Sooja and Amrah, the leaders of the thieves, we atonce despatched strong horsemen to bring them. They have been brought and kept behind bars. If you desire it, we shall send them over to Cutch, otherwise they may remain imprisoned here as at present.

Moreover the Thandars of Cutch write that Thaker Gohar Jareja the source of mischief and prominent among thieves, who is a resident of Sind ass settled down in Cutch. Now it has been ascertained and found out as to where he resides and carries on his mischief. * He has settled down with the Pirzadas of Narapa in Cutch. Your Excellency, Captain Pottinger had written to the residents of that place to capture Thaker Gohar at Narapa. We now learn that Thakkur Gohar has been arrested and kept at Narajad. Captain Porringer has despatched men to get him over to Bhuj. The details of this will be known to Your Excellency.

Under these circumstances, other details likewise written by the Thandars of Cutch must also be considered true; and many slandering thieves will be ound in Cutch.

Your Excellency knows that if some bare-headed thief brings a cow of a calf stealthily from Cutch. What shall it matter in a case like this? The nobles of this Government pay the utmost heed to the treaties of friendship. If any vagabond thief of Cutch is caught by the officers of this land they will atonce despatch them to Cutch.

All else is well. We hope you will be writing your kind letters to us thereby keeping us happy. We have nothing more to add except that we wish that your time will pass in accordance with your wishes.

Copy of the letter from the Mirs of Sind to the Government of Bombay, 8th December 1826.

After respects, may it be known to your sincere mind that since the Painter of eternity did not paint a picture more beautiful and lovely than friendship, by the grace of god, the secluded spot of friendship and sincerely between the two governments has been adorned and decorated with such pictures of spiritual alliance, that it pleases God it will day by day go on becoming the object of envy of all spectators.

Since on account of the ties of friendship, we feel a longing to hear the news of welfare of those provinces, we write this to request you to be so good as to keep us in touch with your safety. Hence please go on informing us about your health &ca.

What more can be said ?

Great and Honoured Sire.

We have already informed you that this great Government have sent some horses as gifts. Along with this letter we are sending four horses which were the best in our stables ; more than these are not available. They are being sent as gifts by our noble Courtier Mirza Mohmed Ali, who is accompanied by Villaitrai. We hope you will like them. Nothing more to add. 1 musk coloured ; 2 one blue; 3 one bay coloured horse ; 4 one, reddish.

Letter from Mir Nasirkhan to the Government of Sind. 8-12-1826.

After respects, may it be known to you that since in this work-a-day world nothing exists which could be higher than love, it is a very happy to think that our friendship is cemented by so many treaties that they are even clearer than the sun. If it pleases God this path of sincerety will ever be pursued by the two governments. At this moment our noble lord Mirza Mohd. Ali and the Hon'ble Villaitrai have left for your province on some state business. They will come and express our sentiments in person. Please consider them trustworthy.

Besides this all is well. In the path of love and fellowship, a letter is calculated to enhance the happiness of hearts and their union. We hope you will keep us informed of your welfare.

Just this moment two excellent horses, one bay coloured (of foreign country) and another of the colour of a leopard's skin are being sent as gifts in company with Mirza Md. Ali and Villaitrai our lords. We hope you will get them. Please send us the receipt; what more can we say? May you be happy.

Letter from the Mirs of Sind to the Government, 9-1-1826.

After respects, let it be known that with the divine help, every thing is well with us and your health and happiness are always solicited. We are herewith sending sixty packages of grapes from Khoresan to your great Court and hope they will reach safe, and that you will be delighted to eat them. Moreover the agents who bring these have already been paid all the expenses of passage both ways and the allowances of their stay there. Therefore please do not pay them at all, since we constitute one government and not two. This is to inform you that you are to pay nothing to our agents at the time of departure and during their stay except the customary robes of honour.

Since writing letters is the cause of happiness, we hope you will be good enough to write regularly to us concerning your welfare. Nothing more to add.

Letter from the Governor Saheb Bahadur to Noor Md. Khan the ruler of Sind dated 14-1-1836, 24 *Ramzan* 1251 *A. H.*

After Compliments.

We are so happy to read all the greetings and expressions of cordiality of yours. Roses of love grew in our hearts on that account. We pray God that this chain of friendship which has been made so firm by treaties between the two Governments may always be solid and sound.

After Compliments.

The packages of Khorassan grapes which you had sent as a token of love and friendship were received. May the house of greatness always keep flourishing. We accepted them out of all love and cordiality.

We are only anxious that you will be informing us about your health and happiness by sending kind letters. Nothing more to add.

Letter from the Government to Mir Nasirkhan, 14-1-1836. 27 *Ramzan* 1251.

After Compliments.

Some packages of Khorassan grapes which you had sent out of a friendship and affection were received. We accept the same with all sincerity. May God the great and glorious keep your friendship ever green.

We wish that you will keep writing and informing us about your health and happiness.

Letterfrom William Henry Worthron to Mir Noor Md., 30-12-1836. 12 *Zil Haj* 1251 *A.H.*

After Compliments.

Let it be known to your enlightened mind that your kind letter which was sent in company with Akhund Taj Md. reached us. Since it contained the news of your happiness and health it brought us much pleasure. Some shawls from Kashmir and some Gurbis which also were brought by the above-mentioned person which you had sent out of great regard were thankfully accepted.

Since the gentleman is returning so hurriedly we also are writing in haste. We are anxious that you will keep us in touch with your health. wishing you all happness.

Copy of letter from Sir William Henry Worthon Mir Md. Nasir Khan the ruler of Sind. 30-3-1836. 22 *Zil Haj* 1251 *A H.*

Let it be known to your kindselves that your kind letter which was sent through the exalted gentleman Mr. Tajmahomed Akhund reached us at the happy hour and mirthgiving minute. Since it contained the news of your safety, the rose of happiness bloomed in the garden of our heart.

Some Kashmiri shawls and Gurbis which you had sent by way of sincerity and kindness as a great gift were received by us and accepted with pleasure.

Since the gentleman is returning immediately, we take the opportunity to write this letter in haste and hope that you will always write letters concerning your welfare and make us happy. May you be happy.

Letter from the Governor to Mir Noor Md. Khan Mir Md. Khan, Amirs of Sind, 30-3-36. 12 *Zil Haj*, 1251.

After Compliments.

May it be known to you that your letter sent through Mr. Akhund Taj Md. reached us at a happy hour and gay minute. We were so pleased to go through it since it contained the news of your safety. In our heart there grew roses of happiness.

Some horses which you had sent by way of sincerity and friendship were accepted. Since the exalted courtier is returning immediately we take the opportunity to thank you and also hope that you will keep us in touch with your health and happiness and keep on writing. May time be friend you.

Letter from the Governor to Mir Nasirkhan at Hyderabad Sind 30-3-1836. 12 *Zil Haj* 1251.

The whole letter is the same except the words under-lined and should be substituted as 2 horses &cs.

Letter from the Governor to Mir Md. Nasir Khan at Hyderabd Sind, 9-4-1836.
22 *Zil Haj* 1251 *A. H.*

After Compliments.

We beg to state that the kind letter full of noble sentiments which you had sent per Sayyed Mehdi Shah of noble desent and Haji Saleh reached us at a happy moment.

You desire us to collect money from Agha Rahim Sabib the prince merchant for the excavation of a canal in Kerbala and send the same through Mr. Taylor. Hence we reply that Rahim Shah was duly informed, he wrote to say that he would be sending over the money to Govt. and the Govt. will deposit it in the treasury. The noble Lord of the Lords, the Governor General of India will be informed about this. Then if he allows the same will be despatched. Hope you will be informing us about your welfare. May you be happy.

EXTRACT from

SELECTED PAPERS ON ANTHROPOLOGY, Travel & EXPLORATION.

BY SIR RICHARD BURTON, K.C.M.G.

Now edited with an introduction and occasional notes.

BY

N. M. PENZER, M.A., F.R.G.S., F.G.S.
1924.

INTRODUCTION.

Since the publication of my Annotated Bibliography of Sir Richard Burton, I have received among other correspondence, numerous repuests to issue a collection of the rarer and more inaccessible of Burton's articles which trom time to time he contributed to the Journals of Learned Societies "Monthlies" or "Weeklies"

Finding from my own personal experience how troublesome it is to hunt through piles of dusty old volumes, I have decided to make a small selection of these papers which I consider are not only rare and interesting, but which also give an insight into the vanied activities and achievements of Burton's crowded life.

Even if local libraries fail to yield an old volume of some magazine long since withdrawn from circulation, one is almost certain of finding it at the British Museum. But then the British Museum is accessible only to a comparative few, and even those few will find that back numbers of journals &ca. are stored away in a distant building and several days' notice has to be

given before a required volume can be procured. Finally, some of the Burton pamphlets are so rare that the chance of finding them is little less than an impossibility. It will, I think, be realized that such a volume as this will not be superflous, for, apart from saving people an enormous amount of trouble, it will give them further insight into the life-work of one of the greatest men of the Victorian era.

In selecting the papers to be reprinted my choice has been guided by several considerations.

In the first place, if the collection is going to be representative of Burton, it must be wide in its scope. It must deal not only with the better-known sides of his life-travel and anthropology, but also with the multifarious interests which he acquired in whatever part of the world he happened to find himself.

Further, the most interesting papers are surely those issued during that part of Burton's life when he was at the height of his career as an explorer, and before his activities had been restricted by an unsympathetic and unenlightened Government.

What, then, was the most important part of his career? I can answer in four words: Sind, Mecca, Harar, Tanganyika. The rest of his activities were entirely dependent on the location of his consulship, and any literary contributions were the natural outcome of his inordinate desire either to chronicle something fresh, or else to propound an original or heterodox theory ofsome long accepted fact.

In his review of my Bibliography in the Observer, Sir Harry Johnstone drew attention to his belief that prior to 1856 we have very little information about Burton. To be exact, we have four books on India (all very rare and nearly unobtainable), the Bayonet Exercise Book, the Pilgrimage, and four short papers in the Bombay Government Records, and in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society. Apart from these there is nothing. What we would really like to have would be a detailed record of Burton's early days in the Sind Survey, with full accounts of his numerous adventures when in disguise he laid the foundation to his great anthropological knowledge. We would like to be taken to some unknown native village on the upper reaches of the Indus and see him perhaps as a wandering Persian, Afghan or Hindu merchant—join in the talk of the caravanserai, hear him recite one of the *Alf Laylah Wa Laylah* to a squatting crowd of gaping mouthed natives, or watch him obtain by bribe and flattery intimate information of some nearly unknown custom, which the European traveller finds so hard to discover.

The only scrap of writing which at all touches on the above is the postscript on his Falconry in the Valley of the Indus. I have, therefore, chosen this (under the title "Eearly days in Sind") as the first paper in this volume, for although it is not a "paper" in the accepted sense of the word, it is the only information we possess on one of the most attractive periods of Burton's life.

Fresh from the work in Sind, fired with the spirit of further adventure, and thirsting to satisfy his instatiable desire for knowledge, Burton made his famous pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. Even after this he would not at once return home, but made an equally dangerous journey in disguise-this time to Harar the Unknown. Both these journeys were carried out before 1856, either one of which would be quite sufficient for a man to sit down and boast about for the rest of his life.

With Burton, however, rest was impossible, and a few years after we find him opening up the unknown Central Lakes of Africa. As Johnstone said, after 1856 the chief records of Burton's work are fully well known and easily accessible. I have, therefore, not included an article on Tanganyika or on the sources of the Nile. With regard to Mecca and Harar, I am re-printing the very rare *Guide-book to Mecca* and an article on Harar from the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society. Both the excellent summaries of the journeys in question, besides being practically unobtainable.

The next three papers (of a total of ten) which I have selected are distinctly anthropological. They all shed interesting light on little known manners and customs, and in them we see the seed of the power of annotation which, propagated in his fertile brain for years, was to burst out in full blossom translation of the *Nights*.

The remaining four articles are as diverse as was Burton himself.

From wandering round Damascus and Palmyra we make a detailed survey of considerations for the improvement of the city of Rome; we then mingle with spirits and phantoms in Eastern lands and finally read a most interesting account of the great Italian Egyptologist, Giovanni Battista Belzoni.

Surely it would be hard to find four more different subjects discussed in so erudite and interesting a manner by the same author.

*

In his review of my Bibliography* Professor Sayce sums up Burton's work in a manner which illustrates what I have tried to explain above.

"Like many other geniuses, Burton lived before his time and suffered accordingly. His insight enabled him to reach conclusions which conflicted with the orthodox theories of the day, and consequently were not accepted until their author was forgotten or ignored. Too independent to repeat the words or reflect the ideas of others where they seemed to him to conflict with the truth, and too honest to remain silent where he deemed it his duty to speak, it is not wonderful that there was friction between him and the bureaucrats of red-tapeism, or that the reward of his work was to be sent to some, remote and insanitary corner of the earth to die. But instead of dying he usually managed to discover new facts and make additions to science in his place of exile"

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July 1923 pp. 464 et seq.

With regard to my own part in this volume, besides introduction I have merely made a few preliminary an explanatory remarks at the beginning of each paper, and added an occasional footnote, which I have initialled so as to be quite distinct from any which Burton has already inserted.

In conclusion, I have to thank the following for leave, as far as they are concerned, to reprint the various papers which constitute this work.

The Councils of the Royal Geographical Society, and the Royal Anhtropological Institute; the Editor of the Cornhill Magazine; and Messrs. Macmillan & Co.

SELECTED PAPERS ON ANTHROPOLOGY, TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION.

EARLY DAYS IN SIND.

As already explained in the Introduction, this paper formed part of the "Postscript" to Burton's *Falconry in the Valley of the Indus*. This was his fourth book, and was published by John Van Voorst in 1852. It is a curious and most interesting little volume and contains "a Narrative, an Autobiography and a protest", as says the review in the Athenaeum (1). The Critique is amusing to read today, for we find that even in 1852, when only thirty-one, he was cautioned against "extreme opinions", an against a "disregard of those well-established rules of moderation which no one can transgress with impunity". With regard to the Autobiography (reprinted below) Burton replied in the Athenaeum (2), to certain statements giving his opinion of the best way to study anthropology. He wrote :" It is impossible to acquire an intimate knowledge of Oriental manners and customs without mixing familiarly with all orders low as well as high "

It was to this correct theory implanted in Burton's mind when only a young man that we owe in later years the numerous valuable anthropological details contained in so many of his works, especially in the *Thousand Nights and a Night.*

This scrap of autobiography appeared in the two early Lives of 1880 and 1886, and also in Vol. I p. 151, et seq., of Lday Burton's Life. It is however so little known and yet so characteristic of Burton, that I feel no apology is needed for its reappearance here.

---

(1) July 17, 1852, pp. 765—765.

(2) July 24, 1852, pp. 802—803. By mistake I left out the actual pages in my Bibliography (p. 252).

EARLY DAYS IN SIND.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

After some years of careful training for the Church in the north and south of France, Florence, Naples, and the University of Pisa, I found myself one day walking the High Street Oxford, with all the emotions which a Parisian exquisite of the first water would experience on awaking at 3 p.m.—in " Dandakaran's tangled wood "

To be brief, my "college career " was highly unsatisfactory. I began a" readingman", worked regularly twelve hours a day, failed in everything chiefly, I flattered myself, because Latin hexameters and Greek iambics had not entered into the list of my studies-threw up the classics, and returned to old habits of fencing, boxing, and single-stick, handling the " ribbons ", and sketching facetiously though not wisely, the reverend features and figures of certain half-reformed monks, calling themselves "" fellows ". My reading also ran into bad courses-Erpenius, Zadkiel, Falconry, Cornelius Agrippa and the Art of Pluck.

Atlast the Afghan war broke out. After begging the paternal authority in vain for the Austrian service, the Swiss Guards at Naples, and even the *Legion etrangere*, I determined to leave Oxford, *coute que coute*. The testy old lady, Alma Mater, was easily persuaded to consign, for a time, to "country nursing " the forward brat who showed not a whit if ifilial regard for her. So after two years, I left Trinity, without a " little go ", in ahigh dog-cart-a companion in misfortune to-tooing lustily through a " yard of tin " as the dons started up from their game of bowls to witness the departure of the forbidden vehicle. Thus, having thoroughly established the fact that I was fit for nothing but to be " shot at for sixpence a day", and as those Afghans (how I blessed their name) had cut gaps in many a regiment, my father provided me with a commission in the Indian army, and started me as quickly as feasible for the " land of the sun"

So, my friends and fellow-soldiers, I may address you to the words of the witty thief-slightly altered from Gil Blas, " Blassings on the dainty pow of the old Dame who turned me out of the house ; for had she shown clemency I should now doubtless be a dyspeptic Don, instead of which I have the honour to be a lieutenant, your Comrade ".

As the Bombay pilot sprang on board, Twenty Mouths agape over the gangway, all asked one and the same question. Alas ! the answer was a sad one—the Afghans had been defeated-the avenging army had retreated. The Twenty Mouths all ejaculated a something unfit for ears polite.

To a mind thoroughly impressed with the sentiment that
" Man wants but little here below,
Nor wants that little long ".

the position of an ensign on the Hon. E. I.Company's Service is a very satisfactory one. He has a horse or two, part of a house, a pleasant mess, plenty of pale ale, as much shooting as he can manage, and an occasional invitation

to a dance, where there are thirty-two cavaliers to three dames, or to a dinner-party when a chair unexpectedly falls vacant. But some are vain enough to want more, and of these fools was I.

In India two roads lead to preferment. The direct highway is "service" —getting a flesh wound, cutting down a few of the enemy, doing something eccentric, so that your name may creep into a despatch. The other path, study of the languages, is a rugged and tortuous one, still you have only to plod steadily along its length, and, sooner or later, you must come to a "Staff appointment". *Bien entendu*, I suppose you to be destitute of or deficient interest whose magic influence sets you down at once, a heaven-born Staff Officer, at the goal which others must toil to reach.

A dozn lessons from Professor Forbes and a native servant on board the John Knox enabled me to land with *eclat* as a griff, and to astonish the throng of palanquin bearers that jostled, pushed, and pulled me at the pier head, with the vivacity and nervousness of my phraseology. And I spent the first evening in company with one Dossabhoee Sorabjee, a white-bearded Parsee, who, in this quality of language-master, had vernacularized the tongues of Hormuzd knows how many generations of Anglo-Indian subalterns.

The corps to which I was appointed was then in country quarters at Baroda, in the land of Guzrat; the journey was long one, the difficulty of finding good instructors there was great, so was the expense, moreover fevers abounded, and, lastly, it was not so easy to obtain leave of absence to visit the Presidency, where candidates for the honours of language are examined, These were serious obstacles to success; they were surmounted, however, in six months, at the end of which time I found my self in the novel position of "passed interpreter in Hindustani"

My success-for I had distanced a field of eleven, encouraged me to a second attempt, and though I had to front all the difficulties over again, in four months my name appeared in orders qualified to interpret in the Guzerattee tongue.

Meanwhile the Ameers of Sind had exchanged their palaces at Hyderabad for other quarters not quite so comfortable at Hazareebagh, and we were ordered up to the Indus for the pleasant purpose of acting police there. Knowing the Conqueror's chief want, a man who could speak a word of his pet conquests' vernacular dialect, I had not been a week at Kurrachee before I found a language-master and a book. But the study was undertaken *invita minerva*. We were quartered in tents, dust-storms howled over us daily, drills and brigade parades were never ending, and, as I was acting interpreter to my regiment, courts martial of dreary length occupied the best part of my time. Besides, it was impossible to work in such an atmosphere of discontent. The seniors abhorred the barren desolate spot, with all its inglorious perils of fever, spleen, dysentry, and congestion of the brain, the juniors grumbled in sympathy, and the Staff-Officers, ordered upto rejoin the corps—it was on field service-complained bitterly of having to quit their comfortable appointments in more favoured lands without even a campaign in prospect. So when, a month or two after landing in the

country, we were transferred from Kurrachee to Gharra-purgatory to the other locale-I threw aside Sindee for Maharattee, hoping by dint of reiterated examinations, to escape the place of torment as soon as possible. It was very like studying Russian in an English country-town; however, with the assistance of Molesworth's excellent dictionary, and the regimental-Pundit, or schoolmaster, I gained some knowledge of the dialect and proved myself duly qualified in it at Bombay. At the same time a brother subaltern and I had jointly leased a Persian Moonshee, one Mirza Mohammad Hosayn, of Shirazpoor fellow after passing through the fires of Sind unscathed, he returned to his delightful land for a few weeks, to die there-and we laid the foundation of a lengthened course of reading in that most elegant of Oriental languages.

Now it is a known fact that a good Staff appointment has the general effect of doing away with one's bad opinion of any place whatever. So then, by the kindness of a friend whose name his modesty prevents my mentioning, the Governor of Sind was persuaded to give me the temporary appointment of Assistant in the Survey, I began to look with interest upon the desolation around me. The country was a new one. so was its populations, so was their language. After reading all the works published upon the subject, I felt convinced that none but Mr. Crow and Captain J. McMurdo had dipped beneath the superficies of things. My new duties compelled me to spend the cold season in wandering over the districts, levelling the beds of canals and making preparatory sketches for a grand survey. I was thrown so entirely amongst the people as to depend upon them for society and the "dignity", not to mention the increased allowances of a Staff officer, enabled me to collect a fair stock of books, and to gather around me those who could make them of any use. So, after the first year, when I had Persian at my finger's ends, sufficient Arabic to read, write, and converse fluently and a superficial knowledge of that dialect of Punjaubee which is spoken in the wilder parts of the province I began the systematic study of the Scindiani people, their manners and their tongue.

The first difficulty was to pass for an Oriental, and this was as necessary as it was difficult. The European official in India seldom, if ever, sees anything in its real light, so dense is the veil which the fearfulness, the duplicity, the prejudice, and the superstitions of the natives hang before his eyes. And the white man lives a life so distinct from the black, that hundreds of the former serve through what they call their "term of exile" without once being present at a circumcision feast, a wedding, or a funeral. More especially the present generation, whom the habit and the means of taking furloughs, the increased facilty for enjoying ladies' society, and if truth be spoken, a greater regard for appearances, if not a stricter code of morality, estrange from their duskyfellow-subjects every day and day the more. After trving several characters the easiest to be assumed was, I found, that of a half Arab, half Iranian, such as may be met with in thousands along the northern shore of the Persian Gulf. The Scindians would have detected in a moment the difference between my articulation and their own, had I attempted to speak their vernacular dialect, but they attributed the accent to my strange country, as naturally as a home-bred Englishman would account for the bad pronunciation of a foreigner calling himself partly Spanish, partly Portuguese. Besides, I knew the countries along the Gulf by

heart from books, I had a fair knowledge of the Shieh form of worship prevalent in Persia, and my poor Moonshee was generally at hand to support me in times of difficulty, so that the danger of being detected-even by a "real Simon Fure"—was a very inconsiderable one.

With hair falling upon his shoulders, a long beard, face and hands, arms and feet, stained with a thin coat of henna, Mirza Abdullah of Bushire-your humbleservant-sets out upon many and many a trip. He was a Bazzaz, a vendor of fine linen, calicoes, and muslins; such chapmen are sometimes admitted to display their wares, even in the sacred harem, by "fast" and fashionable dames and he had a little pack of *bijouterie* and *virtue* reserved for emergencies. It was only, however, when absolutely necessary that he displayed his stock-in-trade; generally, he contented himself with alluding to it on all possible occasions, boasting largely of his traffic, and asking a thousand questions concerning the state of the market. Thus he could walk into most men's houses, quite without ceremony-even if the master dreamed of kicking him out, the mistress was sure to oppose such measure with might and main. He secured numberless invitations, was proposed to by several papas, and won, or had to think he won, a few hearts; for he came as a rich man and he stayed with dignity, and he departed exacting all the honours. When wending his ways he usually urged a return of visit in the morning, but he was seldom to be found at the caravansera he specified-was Mirza Abdullah the Bushiri.

The timid-villagers collected in crowds to see the rich merchant in Oriental dress, riding spear in hand, and pistols in hoisters, towards thelittle encampment pitched near their settlement'. But regularly every ev ening on the line of march the Mirza issued from his tent and wandered amongst them, collecting much information and dealing out more concerning an ideal master, the Feringhee supposed to be sitting in State amongst the Moonshees, the Scribes, the servants, the wheels, the chains, the telescopes, and the other magical implements in which the camp-abounded. When travelling, the Mirza-became this mysterious person's factotum and often had he to answer the question how much his perquisities and illicit gains amounted to in the Course of the year.

When the Mirza arrived at a strange town, his first step was to secure a house in or near the bazaar, for the purpose of evening *conversazioni*. Now and then he rented a shop, and furnished it with clammy dates, viscid molasses, tobacco, ginger, rancid oil, and strong smelling sweetmeats; and wonderful tales Fame told about these establishment's. Yet somehow or other, though they were more crowded than a first-rate milliner's rooms in town they throve not in a pecuniary point of view; the cause of which was, I believe, that the polite Mirza was in the habit of giving the heaviest possible weight for their money to the ladies-particularly the pretty ones, that honoured him by patronizing his concern.

Sometimes the Mirza passed the evening in a mosque listening to the ragged students who, stretched at full length with their stomachs on the dusty floor, and their arms supporting their heads, mumbled out Arabic from the thumbed, soiled, and tattered pages of theology upon which a dim oil light shed its scanty ray, or he sat debating the niceties of faith with the long-

bearded, shaven-pated, bleareyed and solid faced *genus loci*, Mullah. At other times, when in merrier mood, he entered unvited the first floor whence issued the sounds of music and the dance ;-a clean turban and a polite bow are the best " tickets for soup " the East knows. Or he played chess with some native friend, or he eonsorted with the hemp-drinkers and opium-eaters in the *estaminets*, or he visited the Mrs. Gadabouts and Go-betweens, who made matches amongst the Faithful, and gathered from them a precious budget of private history and domestic scandal.

What scenes he saw what adventures he went through. But who would believe, even if he ventured to detail them ?

The Mirza's favourite school for study was the house of an elderly matron on the banks of the Fulailee River, about a mile from the Fort of Hyderabad. Khanum Jan had been a beauty in her youth, and the tender passion had been hard upon her, at least, judging from the fact that she had fled her home, her husband, and her native town, Candahar, in company with Mohammed Bakhsh, a purblind old tailor, the object of her warmest affections

" Ah, he is a regular old Hyena now ", would the Joan exclaim in her outlandish Persian, pointing to the venerable Darby as he sat at squat in the cool shade, nodding his head and winking his eyes over a pair of pantaloons which took him a month to sew, " but you should have seen him fifteen years ago, what a wonderful youth he was "

The knowledge of one mind is that of a million-after a fashion. I addressed myself particularly to that of " Darby " ; and many an hour of tough thought it took me before I had mastered its truly Oriental peculiarities, its regular irregularities of deduction and its strange monotonous one-idea'dness.

Khanum Jan's house was mud edifice, occupying one side of a square, formed by tall, thin, crumbling mud walls. The respectable matron's peculiar vanity was to lend a helping hand in all manner of *affaires du coeur*. So it often happened that Mirza Abdullah was turned out of the house to pass a few hours in the garden. There he sat upon his felt rug spread beneath a shadowy tamarind, with beds of sweet-smelling basil around him, his eyes roving over broad river that coursed rapidly-between its wooded-banks and the groups gathered at the frequent ferries, whilst the soft strains of mysterious philosophical, transcendental Hafij were sounded in his ears-by other Mirza, his companions, Moammed Hosaynpeace- be upon him.

Of all economical studies this course was the cheapest. For tobacco daily, for frequent draughts of mik, for hemp occasionally for the-benefit of of Khanum Jan's experience, for four months' lectures from Mohammed Bakhsh and for sundry other little indulgences the Mirza paid, it is calculated the sum of six shillings. When he left Hyderabad he gave a silver talisman to the dame, and a cloth coat to her protector ; long may they live to wear them.

Thur it was I formed my estimate of the native character. I am as ready to reform it when a man of more extensive experience and a greater knowledge of the subject will kindly show me how far it transgresses the well-established limits of moderation. As yet I hold, by way of generol rule, that the Eastern mind, I talk of ths nations known to me by personal experience is always in extremes; that it ignores what is meant by " golden mean ", and that it delights to range in flights limited only by the *ne plus ultra* of Nature herself. Under which conviction I am open to cerrecti0n.

THE ARAB INVASION OF INDIA.

FIRST ARAB EXPEDITIONS TO INDIA.

BY N. M. BILLIMORIA.

(*Read before the Sind Historical Society, on 24th July* 1947).

In A.D. 632 Mahomed, the Prophet, died; his sovereignty did not extend beyond the Arabian penisula. Within six years, Syria and Egypt were subdued by his sucessors. Northern Africa was conquered between A.D. 647 and 709: Spain was subjugated by A.D. 713. Within one hundred years of the death of Prophet Mahomed, the Mahomedans had advanced to the heart of France; their progress was checked by the victory of Charles Martel between Tours and Poitiers in A.D. 732.

The Mahomedans had acquired also success in the east; the mighty Persian empire was conquered at the battle of Cadesia in A.D. 636; and with in six years, the whole of Persia as far as Herat was annxed to the Arabian empire. By A.D. 650, its northern frontier was advanced as far as the Oxus; all countries between the Oxus and the Hindu Kush mountains were included in it.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang travelled in India in A.D. 643. From his accounts it appears that the western border-land of India was ruled at that time by three powerful Hindu kingdoms.-that of Kapisi in the north; that of Sind in the south; and the kingdom of Tsao-Kuta or Tsao between the two.

The kingdom of Kapisi exteded from Hindu Kush mountains to the Bannu district, and included the well-known cities of Kabul, Jalalabad, and Peshawar.

The kindgom of Sind adjoined Bannu (1); it comprised at least four states-the entire valley of the lower Indus to the south of the point where the river is joined by its five tributaries, its northern boundary being formed by the kindgom of Multan on the left and Bannu on the right side of the Indus.

Hiuen Tsang locates a vast kingdom called Tsao-ku-ta or Tsao-li between the kingdoms of Sind on the south, Bannu and Kekkana on the east and south-east, and Kapisi with its tributaries on the north. The Arab geographers called it Zabul or Zabulistan, and comprised the upper valley of the Helmund river, and a large extent of territory, east and west of it. The coins found there show that some powerful rulers flourished in this region in the 7th century A.D. The tittle used on the coins was Shahi, and one of them Shahi Tigin calls himself lord of " India and Persia ", or more preperly of " Takan and Khurasan ". The province of Khurasan formed a bone of contention between this kingdom and Persia; it formed a buffer state between Indian dominions proper and the Persian Empire.

" Judged by the test of language and culture, the western boundary of India, as described by Hiuen Tsang, may thus be roughly delineated by as imaginary line drawn from Kandhar to Kabul, and SW along the boundaries of Baluchistan to the sea-coast. That part of the hilly country in the north which lies between this line and the Hindu Kush mountains was still politically a part of India being ruled with other Indian States by an Indian chief who originally dwelt at Ohind on the Indus. But the population had a strong admixture of Turkish element, due no doubt to the invasions of the Sakas, Kushanas and Hunas ".

Authentic references to early Mahomedan raids on India are really very few. The connected account of the various expeditions is given by Al-Baladuri. We may sum up the results of these early Mahomedan raids.

The early Arab raids were directed against the coastland of India From their secure base at Oman (2) an army was sent across to Tanah, near Bombay about A.H. 15, *i.e.* A.D. 637. Similar expeditions were sent against Broach and Debal. Al-Baladuri records a Muslim victory at Debal, but is silent about the results of the other two raids. On the other hand according to Chach-nama the Muslims were defeated and their leader was killed by the Governor of Chach at the battle of Debal (p-57-58). It may be safely said that the Muslim arms did not gain any success in any of these raids, undertaken during the Caliphate of Umar, (3) A.D. 634-643.

The first period of 7 years after the first raid, A.D. 649, the Islamic forces achieved very little during this period. During the second period Islamic forces under Abdar-Rehman obtained notable successes against the rulers of Kabul and Zabulistan. Abdar-Rahman was removed and he died in A.D. 670 ; during the third period of about 30 years the Islamic forces sustained serious reverses in Kabul & Zabulistan. They tried for fifty years, 649-700 A.D. without any success. The Arabs were convinced that the conquest of these countries was beyond their power. For the next one hundred years. Kabul and Zabul maintained their authority unimpaired. Kabul Zabul were left undisturbed till Kabul was conquered by Yakub in A.D. 870.

We need not dilate upon the conquest of Sind by Mahomed Kasim in A.D. 711-12.

We know that there are four routes open for hostile army to invade India from the west. One by the sea, the others by Khyber, and Bolan passes and the Makran coast. The early naval raids against Thana, Broach and Debal, proved their fruitless efforts to reach India by sea. The Khyber Pass was guarded by Kabul and Zabul, and Bolan Pass was guarded by the brave Jaths, of al-Kikan or Kikanan. " If India had her history, the heroic deeds of these brave peoples, who defended her gates against Islam for two centuries, would probably have ere long received the recognition they so eminently deserve."

When all the three routes failed, the Mehomedans attempted the fourth one through Makran coast.

The fall of Sind may be assigned to want of strategy on the part of Dahar, the treachery of the Buddhist of the south, the base betrayal of the chief officials and grandees of Sind. There was also a superstition among the people that according to the sacred books of the Hindus the country was destined to fall into the hands of the Mahomedans, and it was therefore useless to fight.

Governor of Bahrein attacks Persepols.

Ala, the Governor of Bahrein attacked Istakhr (Persepolis). He was tempted by the nearness of the Persian shore across the narrow strait to set on foot an expedition to seize the district lying opposite. This was done not only without permission, but against the known unwllingness of Caliph Omar to trust the treacherous sea. Success might have justified the project; but it fell otherwise. The troops, landing on the Persian coast, met for a time with no check when they advanced upon Persepolis. But shortly they were drawn in a trap. After a severe engagement, they turned towards Basra, but they found the road in that direction barred. Messengers were sent to Medina, and Omar incensed with Ala for his foolhardines despatched an urgent order to Otba to relieve the beleaguered army. A force of 12,000 men set out immediately and with Ala's forces beat back the Persians and retired to Basra.

Naval operations forbidden by Omar.

Muawiya, the future Caliph, asked for permssion from Omar to embark his army in ships. He wrote " The isles of Levant are close to Syrian shore; you might almost hear the barking of the dogs and cackling of the hens; give me leave to attack them ". But Omar dreaded the sea, and wrote to consult (Amr, who was sent by Mahomed as an ambassador at the Farewell Pilgrimage) who answered thus:

> " The sea is a boundless expanse, whereon great ships look tiny specks; nought but the heavens above and waters beneath; when calm, the sailor's heart is broken; when tempestuous, his senses reel. Trust it little; fear it much. Men at sea is an insect on a splinter, now engulfed now scared to death ".
>
> On receipt of this alarming account, Omar forbade Muawiya to have nothing to do with ships:—" The Syrian sea, they tell me, is longer and broader than the dry land, and is instant with the Lord, night day, seeking to swallow it up. How should I trust my people on its accursed bosom? Remember Al-Ala. Nay, my friend, the safety of my people is dearer to me than all the treasures of Greece.
>
> Nothing therefore was attempted by sea in the reign of Omar. But on his death, Muawiya reiterated the petition and Othman atlast relaxed the ban on condition that maritime service should be voluntary. The first fleet was equipped against Cyprus, which was occupied in a A. H. 28, A.D. 649.

In Vol. XIV, Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency,p. 355, we read. The earliest reference that has been traced to Thana is, that in 636 it was rich enough to tempt Usman bin Asi Sakifi, Governor of Bahrain and Oman, to send a plundering expedition from the persian Gulf. (Elliot & Dowson, I, 115, 455 ; Reinaud's Fragments, 182 ; Journal Asiatique, V. 156).

About thirty years later (660) it was again sacked by the Arabs. (Prairies d'Or, 1330, 381 ; Elliot & Dowson,I, 24).

FIRST ARAB EXPEDITIONS TO INDIA.

The first and earliest expedition of the Arabs to India was directed against Thana, a seaport near Bombay. During the Caliphate of Umar, Uthman ath-Thaqufi, (4) who was Governor of Bahrain and Uman sent this expedition under the command of his brother As ath-Thaqufi. The landing of the forces on the coast of Gujarat heralded the advent of the Sahaba in South India. Al-Baladhuri, who records the earliest expeditions to India in his Futuh al-Buldan, does not mention their dates clearly ; but the Indian expeditions were undertaken at the instance of Uthman when he became Governor of Bahrain and Uman-that is in A.D. 14, A.D. 636, or the year following.

The Arab expedition against Thana was a success and not a failure for had it been a failure, it would have resulted in a disaster for the Arabs; they might not have been killed to a man. As a matter of fact they returned home with flying colours with not a single man lost. The Arabs did not proceed further, not because their arms were not victorious, but because they were not allowed to do so by the Caliph-Umar himself. The reason for the Caliph's action was that, an empire-builder and statesman Caliph Umar did not wish to play ducks and drakes with human lives. Once an expedition had been despatched his sole concern was to send supplies for the strengthening of the forces of Islam ; he instructed his generals to keep him informed of what took place so that he might issue necessary directions. Never did he venture upon an expedition which he could not reinforce with men and munitions regularly. This perhaps is the reason why, with all his military genius, the Caliph Umar fought shy of naval expeditions.

The Arabs were not experienced in naval fighting as the Romans and the Persians. As a result the naval expedition sent against Fars proved unsuccessful. In A.H. 17 (A.D. 639) one Hadrami (5) the Governor of Bahrain undertook this expedition without the sanction of the Caliph. The Muslim army sustained a heavy loss in this expedition ; there would have been a greater disaster, had not timely re-inforcement arrived from Basra. This sad incident made a bad impression on Umar with regard to naval expedition. When Muawyia, the Governor of Syria and Egypt asked the permission of the Caliph to undertake naval action against the Romans, he wrote " you are well aware of the punishment inflicted on this score on Ala bin al-Hadrami" The Arabs had not yet time to acquire efficiency in naval fight, as they were pre-occupied elsewhere.

As the Caliph did not approve of a naval expedition, Uthman ventured upon the Indian expedition at his own risk. But though the expedition to Thana terminated successfully, the Caliph was not satisfied for he gave a sharp rebuke to Uthman " O brother of Thaqif, thou has put a worm upon the wood. By Allah, I swear that if they had been smitten, I would have exacted from thy tribe the equivalent ".

Let us see what Chach Nama states about the Islamic expedition to Debal. In the eleventh year of the Hijrah (A.D. 632) Usman was the first person who was sent by Caliph Umar to Bahrain. Usman himself started in the direction of Amman, or the high sea, and his army was sent in a small fleet of boats by way of the sea under the command of Mughairah (6) the father

of As, to Bahrain, and thence to Debal. At that time Sind was in the hands of Chach son of Salaij, 35 years of whose reign had already passed. The people of Debal were mostly merchants. Samah, son of Dewaij, was the ruler of that place, on behalf of Chachrai. When the Arab army came at Debal, he issued out of the fort and engaged with them in fight. When the two armies stood opposite each other, Mughrirah, the Arab general drew his sword, and attacked the enemy crying " Bismillah and Fi Sabilillahi " In the name of God and in the cause of God, and faught til he was killed

This is not correct for Yakut states that al-Mughira, the leader of the expedition was alive as late at A.H. 29 (A.D. 550), if not later. For in that year he was allotted a plot of land by his brother, Uthman at Shatt-Uthman, on the bank of the Euphrates in al-Basra, where his house was built and was known as Mughiratan.

Thus the statement of Baladhuri that al-Mughira was victorious at Debal is correct.

K. M. Munshi in his " The Glory that was GURSARADESA ", part III states that Jayabhata, the Gujara of Lata, became the feudatory of the Calukya emperor. It was in this time that an Arab fleet was despatched to Thana and Broach (636 A.D.). It did some damage but was re-called under the orders of Caliph Umar. Mr. Munshi further states that a cloud certainly bigger than a man's hand was rising in the West. In 636 A.D. Usman, the Governor of Oman, without the permission of Caliph Umar (634-644 A.D.) had sent an army to Thana but had to withdraw it under his master's orders Usman's brother a little later sent an army to attack Broach, but Caca the Brahmin king of Sind defeated the army and killed the Arab General Abdul Aziz.

Elliot, Vol. I, page 415:416 confirms the above statements: Under the Khilafat of Umar, A.H. 15 or 16—a military expedition set out from Uman, to pillage the coasts of India. It appears to have proceeded as far as Tana in Bombay. As Umar had not-been consulted on the expedition, he forbade that any more should be undertaken to such distant parts; and to Usman Bin Asi Sakifi, Governor of Bahrain and Uman under whose orders the piratical vessels had-been despatched, he signified his displeasure in-very marked terms:—" Had our party he wrote "-been defeated be assured " I would have taken from your own tribe as many men as had-been killed and put them all to death "

About the same time, Hakam, the brother of Usman, who had been placed in charge of Bahrain, sent an expedition against Broach, and despatched his brother, Mughaira Abiul Asi to the Bay of Debal, where he encountered and defeated his opponents, according to the Futuhu-l Buddan; but the Chach-nama represents that he was slain. That work also mentions that the naval squadron was accompanied by troops, that Debal was occupied by merchants, and that the Governor, Samba, son of Diwaiji, had been nominated to that post-by Chach, who at that time had ruled thirty-five years in Sind.

Abu Musa (7) was appointed Governor of Irak (Basra), when Rabi bin Ziyad Harisi, one of his officers, was sent to Makran and Karman. Orders were also despatched to Abu Musa from the caiptal of the empire, directing

him to afford all the information in his power respecting Hind, and the countries leading to it. As he had lately learnt the disastrous result of Mughaira's expedition, he wrote in reply to say " The king of Hind and Sind was powerful and contumacious, following the path of unrighteousness, and that sin dwelt in his heart ". Upon which he received peremptory orders not by any means to enter upon a holy war with that country.

It is notorious that Umar had always a particular horror of naval expeidtion, and it is probable that it arose from this untoward defeat. This repugnance is usually attributed to a later period, when, upon the conquest of Egypt by Amru-bin Asi, (8) the Khalif wrote to his lieutenant for a description of the sea; who replied—" The sea is a great pool, which some senseless people furrow, looking like worms upon logs of wood ". On receipt of this answer, it is said, Umar forbade all navigation amongst the Musalmans, and transgressgrs were sevzrely punished. Muawi ya665-680 was the first Khalif under whom this prohibition was relaxed, and who despatched maritime expeditions against the enemies of the empire. The original cause of the restriction was probably that which has been already indicated, and its continuance may perhaps be ascribed to the unskilfulness of the Arabs upon the element to which the subjects of the Greek empire were accustomed from their birth.—Elliot adds that had the Musalmans along the shores of the Mediterranean been as expert as the Arab navigatgrs of the-Indian Ocean, there would have-been no need to feel alarm at the result of actions upon the high seas.

Extracts from the Thesis on "the Probable Date of the FirstArab Expedition to India" by Baloch Nabi Bakhshkhan, M.A. of John Jay Hall, Columbia Universisity, New York.

To Mr. Ishaq belongs the credit for having brought into relief the confusing difficulties in the determination of the date of the first Arab expedition to India and for having successfully exposed the myth of Al-Mughira's death at ad-Daibul in Sindh (p. 58, Chachnama). But the author has failed in his efforts to invalidate the statement of al-Madaini (9) giving 15 A.H., as the year of the first expedition and to establish that it could not have occurred till 23 A.H. Whatever arguments he has advanced in favour of his contention are based on a misunderstanding of Arab texts, a misplaced confidence in faulty translations, and unwarranted conclusions. The present writer has had occasion to make a critical study of the relevant data on the point in the course of researches † on the subject of " The History of Sind under the Arabs "; hence the venture to respond to the invitation of the Edtior, Islamic Culture, to contribute to the discussion.

---

†The research which is nearing completion has been carried on in the capacity of Muslim University Research Shcolar, under the guidance of Maulana Abdul-Aziz-al-Maimani, Professor and Chairman or the Arabic Department of the Muslim University.

The thesis put forward in the following pages is briefly (1) that the statement of al Madaini which is quite independent of that of Abu Mikhnaf (10) must be regarded as highly authentic, and (2) that the appointment of Uthman in al-Bahrain in 15 A.H. which present the main difficulty in the way of its acceptance, is authentic beyond all doubt in view of its confirmation in several trustworthy authorities. (3) Further Uthman was never appointed Governor of al Basra; he only settled down in the newly founded garrison town after his dismissal from al-Bahrain, and (4) his career subsequent to his appointment in al-Bahrain in 15 A.H. which is often a source of great confusion, can be explained thus; He was sent back to at-Taif in 16 A.H. as a consequence of his forward naval policy; was reappointed governor of al-Bahrain in 17 A.H. (which post he still held at the time of the death of the Caliph Umar in 23 A.H.) in succession to al-Ala, who was ignominiously dismissed for his disastrous naval adventure. (5) The outlying districts al-Yamam and Uman remained politically and militarily a dependency of al-Bahrain during the governorship of Uthman in 15 A.H.; the position of Hudhaifa in Uman and that of Qudama and Abu Huraira in al-Yamama was only that of local officers with purely administrative and judicial duties; (6) The quick succession of events from 17 right up to 23, coupled with the stern policy of Umar, definitely precludes the possibility of expeditions being placed later than 15 A.H.).

The principal statement recorded by al-Baladuri on the subject of expeditions to India is given on the authority of al-Madaini, which runs as follows:—

> "Umar bin al-Khattab appointed Uthman b. Abi al-Asath-Thaqan in al-Bahrain and Uman in the year 15. The latter sent his brother al-Hakam to al-Bahrain, and went himself to Uman, and sent an army across to Tanah. When the army returned, he wrote to Umar informing him of this expedition. Umar wrote to him in reply "O brother from the Thaqif, thou hast put a worm upon the wood. By Allah I swear that if they had been smitten, I would have exacted from thy tribe the equivalent. He (Uthman) also sent al-Hakam to Barwas and his brother al-Mughira b. Abi al-As to the Gulf of ad-Daibul, where he met the enemy and won a victory"

†

It is for these reasons that this statement of al-Madani is unique and original so far as both the date and the account of these expeditions are concerned. That some of the most authoritative historians have either followed al-Madaini or corroborated him independently on this point is another proof of the indisputable authority of this statement. Al-Baladhuri, who took it at first hand from al-Madaini has recorded it without any amendments. Al-Baladhuri is again followed by yaqut, (11) who refers to the expedition sent against ad-Daibul. Fath-nama (Chach-nama) corroborates al-Madaini independently so far as the fact of these expeditions is concerned. An independent confirmation of al-Madaini's account may also be found in the brief reference of Ibn-HazM, who speaking of Uthman b. Abi al-Ass achievements, states that he attacked "three towns of India", meaning thereby, Tanah, Barwas, and ad-Daibul. All the same it is only al-Madaini

who gives us, besides the date of the expeditions, complete information about all the three attacks against these coastal towns of India, and there remains absolutely no doubt as to the correctness as well as originality of his information.

Tanah (Thana ?) has been more or less unanimously placed near Bombay have so far been suggested for ad-Daibul in Sind, I am inclined to identify by modern research.

Barwas (بروص) is the Arab name of Bharoach in Gujrat. Various sites have so far been suggested for ad—Daibul in Sind. I am Inclined to identify it with the ruins of Banbhore (بنبهور = بهور × ان = بهار × ان).

Vana-Vihara the famous Buddhist temple, after which it was called by the Arabs ad-Daibul, (i.e. Dewal) about 42 miles S.E. of Karachi and 3 miles west of the present town of Chara.

CONCLUSION.

To sum up briefly, the earliest Arab expeditions to India were sent by Uthman ath-Thaqafi in 15 A.H. after he was appointed Governor of al-Bahrain and Uman. The sequence of events from 17 to 23 conclusively proves that these expeditions could not have been sent after 15 A.H. The statement of Ibn Habib as supported by Ibn Qutaiba gives a clue that probably the expeditions occurred in the later part of the year 15.

It will however be necessary as well as interesting to find out why Uthman fitted out these expeditions particularly against the distant coast of India. Shall we brand it as a mere foolhardy adventure embarked upon under a zeal for Jihad ? Competent scholars of Islamic history will do a great service if they throw some light upon the background of these expedition'.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. Islamic Culture. April 1945.
2. The probable date of the first Arab Expeditions to India by Baloch Nabi Bakhshkhan of John Jay College, Columbia University.
3. Journal Of Indian History, Vol. X. 1931. Mr. R. C. Majumdar's article on Arab Invasion of India.
4. The Caliphate, its rise, decline and fall, by Sir. William Muir, a new and revised edition by T.J. Weir, 1945.
5. Tarikhul-Khulafa, History of the Caliphs, author Jalaud-Din Suyuti, translated by H.S. Harrett, 1881.
6. The Enoyclopaedia of Islam, a Dictionary of the geography, ethnography and biography of the Muhammadan peoples, 4 vols. Leyden, and London Luzac & Co. 1913.
7. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XIV, Thana, p. 355.

NOTES.

1. Banu, formerly called Edwardesabad, was founded by Sir Herbert Edwardes in 1848.
2. Oman, an independent state in the Persian Gulf.
3. Umar, Omar, the 2nd Caliph, Founder of the Arab Empire ; he is called St. Paul of Islam. A.D. 634-644.
4. Amr, bin Al-As ; died at the age of 90 in A.D. 663. His real fame is due to his conquest of Egypt. In the summer of 19 (640) the Greeks were defeated at Heliopolis. In 20 (641) Babylon was occupied by the Arabs ; in 21 (642) Aleaxandria lay in their power. Amr also regulated the government of the country, administration of justice and the imposition of taxes.

   Thakif, on the eve of of the Hidjra the tribe settled in the district of Ta'if. Burckhardt describes it as a very powerful tribe. One of the last European visitors to Ta'if Mr. Philby found them on the slopes of mount Kara, between Ta'if and Mecca, where they devote themselves to agriculture.
5. Muawiyah the 6th Caliph, (661-680) had sent Abdullah-b-ul Hadrami to secure Barah for him and Ali despatched Anyan-b-Dhabiah for the same purpose. The latter was killed whereupon Jariyah was sent and he besieged Abdullah in his house and set it on fire and burnt him alive.
6. Mughairah, Governor of Basra was guilty of adultery ; had shocking morals ; was dismissed by Omar. He died of plague at the age of 70.
7. Abu Musa in 17 (638) Omar made him Governor of Basra on the deposition of Mughira ; he was transferred to Kufa in 22 (642-43). The year of his death is various given ; he died at Kufa in the year 42 (662-63) or in 52.
8. Amru bin Asi . . see note 4 above.
9. Abu Madyan, a famous Andalusian mystic was born at Cantillana, a village near Seville, died in 594 (1197-98 ; he was conversant with diverse branches of Mussalman science, both religious and profane. After remaining for some years at Fez, the young Sufi went to Mecca. Splendid monuments of which many remain still in a state of good preservation (notably the Mosque of the Madrasa) were built in honour of the saint by the side of his tomb by the Marinide kings, the masters of Tlemcen in the 14th century.
10. Aby Mikhnaf. One of the oldest Arabian traditionists and historians, died in 157 (774). He was the author of 32 historical treatises (on various events that took place in the first century of the Hegira), which have, for the greatest part, been preserved for us in the Arabic chronicle of Tabari. On the other hand, the writings that have come down to us especially under his name are forgeries of a later date.
11. Yaqut . . . famous Arab Encyclopoedist, 1179-1229.

Since writing the above, Dr. Abdul Hamid Khan, M.A., B.T., Ph.D. Warrant Officer, H.M.I.S. Himalaya, kindly lent me his thesis on Geographic conditions of the Province of Arab Sind during the period of Arab Occupation from 710 A.D. to 985 A.D.

For this Thesis the degree of Dr. of Philosophy has been conferred upon Dr. Khan.

He has kindly allowed me to quote the following from his Thesis.

A brief account of the attempts made by the Arabs to reach Sind is necessary, before giving the details of Mohd.-b-Qasim's route through Arab Sind, is given below :—

(1) Othman-b-Sakfi was the first General to be sent by Caliph Omar to Bahrein in 11 A.H./632 A.D. Othman being assisted by Mughir-b-As, who was in charge of the boats, he reached Oman and from there moved on to Debal, where he faught a land battle with Sama-b-Salaj in which Mughir was killed.

(2) The aim of the second convoy was to study the details of Sind and Hind. It was organised by Caliph Otman, under the leadership of Abdullah Amir, who nominated Hakim-b-Hailab Abdi for the purpose. Abdi was successful in reaching Kandail (modern Gandava) and collected some information of geographical nature necessary for making any attack.

(3) In 64 A.H./683.A.D., Caliph Amir-Mavia-b-Sufian sent an army under the command of Abdullah-b-Sawad, who reached Kiqanan (Kalat), but was killed, so that the army was compelled to retreat to Makran.

(4) Again in 64 A.H./683 A.D. Ahnaf-b-Qqais, after the death of Sawad reached Makran, but returned after about a year. He was later on appointed Governor of Alor, after the city was captured by Mohd.-b-Qasim in 710 A.D.

(5) Rashid-b-Omar was next to enter Sind, through Sijisten (Sistan) He invaded Kiqanan, (Kalat) in 64 A.H./683 A.D. and was killed in a battle. His stay in Sind was also for a year or so.

(6) The date of Sinan-b-Salma's invasion to Sind has not been given but this is certain that he entered the country after Rashid-b-Omar and reached the territory of Budhia (modern Larkana District), where people rose against him and put him to death.

(7) During the Caliphate of Abdul-Malik-b-Marwan, Said was sent to by Hajaj-b-Yusuf the Governor of Iraq, in the year 65 A.H.-684 A.D. Said entered Makran and demanded help from Safvi-b-Lamsuman 1 who refused to obey him and was put to death by Said, who sent his head to the governor. Having collected a lot of wealth in Makran, he was going to Bukhraj. where the Alafies being related to the late Safvi, managed to kill him.

(8) Mohd.-b-Haroon was appointed to pursue the Alafies, who being in revolt had killed Said. It was in the year 86 A.H./705 A.D. during the Caliphate of Wahid-b-Abdul Malik that Haroon came to the borders of Makran, where he remained for five years. He subdued the Alafies, killed many of their leaders and collected tribute from that territory.

It is clear from the above invasions that a gradual infiltratsation by the Arabs into Makran and Baluchistan, which at that time formed part of Sind, had taken place, and the popular belief, that Mohd.-b-Qasim was the first general to conquer Sind, becomes untrue, as Kiqanan, Gandava, Debal, Budhia and Makran, all forming part of Sind, had been attacked with some success and were under the sway of the Arabs before the final and most successful attack was made by Mohd.-b-Qasim.

EXTRACTS

from

Annual Reports of the ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. Part I.

1912-13. At Khudabad in Sind, the Jami Masjid and Tomb of Yar Muhammed have undergone various structural repairs directed towards rendering the fabrics watertight and preserving what is left of the enameled tile-work which adorns their walls.

1914-15. Other works of a special nature for repairs in the Bombay Presidency related to.....Isa Khan's Zenana and the Jami Masjid at Tatta, where various necessary improvements have been effected.

1916-17. In Sind, some further digging was done by Mr. Bhandarkar in one of the mounds at Mirpur Khas close to the stupa opened by Mr. Cousens in 1910. "During the excavations carried out this

season, "says Mr. Bhandarkar," the remains of four different periods were brought to light and the debris that had accumulated in each layer appears to have been the result, not of natural accumulation, but of deliberate filling. The remains of the second period comprised a great array of small votive stupas (plate IXa) and the walls of two monasteries of about the 6th century A.D. The site was filled up on several occasions in order, apparently, to raise the height of the site and guard it against the flooding of the Indus. Among the antiquities recovered here was a torso of a colossal stucco and guilded image of a standing Budha or Bodhisattava. The image seems to have been over a wooden framework, the different parts of which were held fast by iron nails. were also found in many of the stucco fragments, e.g. the fingers. Other interesting finds consisted of inscribed tablets of various shapes and sizes and numerous diminutive clay stupas, some of which bore the Buddhist creed written in flowing cursive hand"

1918-19. A grant-in-aid of Rs. 2,000 received for special repairs to the Jami Masjid at Tatta was spent in renewing *kalar*-eaten bricks of the walls. The Jami Masjid at Tatta is one of the most beautiful mosques in India, and is almost entirely covered with the encaustic tiles for which Sind was once so famous. The tiles near the ground have almost disappeared through the destructive action of *kalar* but they are being gradually replaced now by overburnt bricks in order to minimize further damage to the structure. The work of conserving the tombs in the ancient necropolis on the Maklii Hills near Tatta is also in progress. During the year under review the tomb of Nawab Isa Khan Tarkhan, a former ruler of Sind, was thoroughly repaired. A large number of monuments recently declared protected will be taken in hand next year.

1919-20. At Hyderabad (Sind) systematic repairs were undertaken among the tombs of the Kalhora Amirs, a sum of Rs. 9,354 being spent upon them. In the tomb of Ghulam Shah Kalhora three portions of the bulged dado in the interior were successfully dismantled and reset. On account of lateral pressure these portions of the dao (which consists entirely of tiles set in a bed of burnt gypsum mortar on a red bed) had separated from the rest of the surface and owing to their highly precarious state had defied previous efforts to repair them. At the same tomb also the yellow stone pavement of the platform on which the main tomb stands, was partly reset and all missing slabs were made good; the masjid attached to the tomb provided with a door of expanded metal in a wooden frame; openings in its walls were closed with the same material and the flooring of the masjid was partly renewed. In the Karachi Distict further progress was made in the task of conserving the vast ruins of the Necropolis on the Makli Hills near Tatta which had been very imperfectly surveyed in the past with the result that a large number of valuable monuments had escaped attention.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

EXHIBITION OF ASIATIC ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

NEW DELHI, 23 MARCH—2 APRIL 1947.

Part I. Historical Notes. India and Mesopotamia.

* * *

The economy of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro was based upon the fertile margins of major rivers and the easy transportation which these rivers afforded. With these advantages it was possible to produce and distribute a surplus which, combined perhaps with intermittent military effort, enabled the plainsman to acquire necessary or desirable commodities (notably metal) from abroad. In this respect the cities of the Indus and of Sumer were on an identical footing. And recent (1946) exploration at Harappa has indicated that the principal cities of the Indus were the seats of a central government which, however different in detail, must have resembled generally that of the autocratic priesthoods or priest-kings who combined the secular and religious administration of the contemporary city-states of the West. It is now known that both at Harappa and at Mohenjo-daro were strongly fortified citadels which must have formed the strongholds of the administration-suggesting, indeed, an almost feudal relationship. At Harappa the picture is amplified by the serried lines of barracks or workmen's dwellings, working-floors and granaries which lie like organized cantonment in the shadow of the citadel and remind us again of the granaries, workshops, bakeries and breweries manned by servile or semi-servile workers, which were administered by the temple-rulers of Ir or Lagash. It still remains at the Indus sites to discover the actual temple which on analogy may have dominated the scene there also.

In addition to the two large cities of the Indus, thirty-five smaller sites, at one time presumably subbordinate in status, have been identified between the Arabian Sea and the foot of the Simlahill'. The distance between these extremities is more than a thousand miles so that in area at least the Indus civilization exceeded both its contemporaries in Mesopotamia and Egypt.

The present exhibition includes a selection of the objects found at Mohenjo-daro, Harappa and related sites, to illustrate something of the achievement of the earliest Indian Civilization and of its relationship with the West.

PART II CATALOGUE

ROOM 1 : INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION.

CASE 1: STATUARY AND TERRACOTTAS.

Statuary.

Statuary is rare but includes examples showing a high standard of achievement. Notable amongst these are the steatite male bust and the bronze dancing girl from Mohenjo-daro and the stone statuettes from Harappa. Among the animal statuary, the faience monkey, squirrels and parrots are vivid and attractive miniatures.

The human statuary displays many distinctive features, such as narrow eyes, short neck, low and receding forehead flattened checkbones and inconspicuous nose. The eye-balls were originally inlaid.

Male bust from Mohenjo-daro.

This is a fine piece of sculpture in steatite from Mohenjo-daro, representing a nobleman or a priest. It is draped in a Shawl decorated with trefoil pattern and painted red. On the right arm is an armlet. It wears a short beard and a close-cut moustache. The eyes are long and half-closed, the nose is of medium size and lips are full. The hair is parted in the middle, and the locks secured at the back with a fillet running round the forehead.

Red-stone statuette from Harappa.

This nude made statuette exhibits a remarkable skill in delineating human anatomy. It shows a faithful modelling of the fleshy parts, a flattening of the hips and subtlyindicated dimples at the back. The socket-holes in the neck and the shoulders are for receiving an attachable head and arms.

Bronze dancing girl from Mohen-daro.

This charmingly modelled figure in the round gives a vivid impression of a female dancer, with a hand on the hip and a leg thrust forward. The rhythmic swing of the body is realistically portrayed, and the modelling of the back and hips is very effective, though the arms and legs are disproportionately long.

Terracotta female figurines.

Of the large number of terracotta human figurines found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, the majority are female, nude except for a narrow girdle round the loins. Many of them wear a distinctive fan-like head-dress at the back of the head and are bedecked with profuse jewellery. Their similar features and frequency favours the belief that they were sacred images, probably representing the Great Mother-goddess, whose images are found in large numbers in Elam, Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Terracotta animal figures.

Animal figures are found in large numbers on the sites of the Indus Valley culture. The majority of the figurines were apparently toys for children. The commonest model-animals are the short-horned and the Brahmani bull. Next to the bull in frequency come the rhinoceros, buffalo, tiger, pig, dog and monkey. Among aquatic animals are the crocodile and turtle, while birds include the duck, peacock, hen, dove and a flying bird of unknown species.

CASE 2: BEADS.

The commonest ornament of the Indus people consisted of beads, mostly of semi-precious stones, viz., carnelian, agate, jade and jasper. Faience-and paste-beads are also fairly popular, while those of shell and pottery are less frequent.

CASE 3: ORNAMENTS AND TOILET REQUISITES.

Ornaments.

Necklaces, fillets armlets; bangles, and finger-rings were worn by both sexes; girdles, ear-rings and anklets exclusively by women. For the gold and silver jewellery, see Room 2, case 15.

Faience vessels.

Faience was very popular with the Indus people and was made in different colours. All the faience vessels of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa are of small size, and most of them were probably used for cosmetics.

Toilet requisites.

The-Indus people used mirrors and razors of copper, while their combs were made of ivory or cheaper materials. The toilet of women included the application of collyrium to the eye, as indicated-by the find of a collyrium-pot rods of copper.

CASE 4: SEALS.

The most characteristic of all objects that have been found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa are the seals and sealing'. The majority of the seals are of steatite and bear the representation of an animal and one or two lines of pictographic writing, which has net been deciphered.

The commonest animal motifs on the seals are the mis-called "unicorn", short-horned bull, tiger, elephant, rhinoceros, and crocodile. Some seals depict human forms and composite representations including partly human and partly animal forms.

The male god.

This seals represent a three-faced god, with legs bent double beneath him. His arms, covered with bangles, are outstretched and rest on the knees. Crowning his head is a pair of horns. Beside the god

are four animals, elephant and tiger on the right and rhinoceros and buffalo on the left. Beneath the throne are two deer. It has been suggested that the god is the prototype of Siva.

CASE 5 : GAMES AND TOYS.

Gamesmen.

That some form of game played with pieces was common on the Indus Valley sites is proved by the discovery of a great number of gamesmen. Those that may be said to be unmistakably so are balls and marbles of stone, faience, shell and pottery. There are also dice and gamesmen of tetrahedral or chessman shape. Tetrahedral gamesmen are also known from Sumerian sites.

Toys.

The children of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa had terracotta toys. The favourite types are human and animal models, carts, birds mounted on wheels, rattles, whistles, dice, bells and marbles, animals with movable head, miniature vases etc. Specimens of an insect-cage, a mouse-trap, and spiral game-boards have also been found.

CASE 6 : STONE OBJECT.

Chert implements.

The chert implements of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa are mostly long flakes, evidently used as knives. They could be used effectively for cutting meat, vegetables, etc. In most cases the edges have become serrated by use.

Weights.

A very large number of highly polished stone weights made of chert, quartzite, alabaster limestone and jasper have been discovered. They are mostly cubical but sometimes spherical or barrelshaped. The system of weighing was both binary and decimal. The ratios for the former are usually 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32 and 64 and their multiples. The unit seems to have been 8565 gramme.

Very few weights, considering the great number found, were bai or fraudulent, a fact which suggests the existence of stringent trading regulations.

Stone vessels.

Stone vessels are comparatively rare on the Indus sites and are more frequently made of alabaster than of harder stones. The soft white alabaster used is of very poor quality. Most of the vessels are thick and clumsy. Better-made vessels are extremely rare, but include an elegant jade tumbler and small steatite caskets.

CASE 7: COPPER AND BRONZE OBJECTS.

Miscellaneous copper and bronze objects.

Copper was the most widely-used metal for general purposes and was fashioned into domestic utensils, implements, statuettes and ornaments. The knowledge of bronze, which was utilized for the same purposes as copper, implies the existence of commercial or other relations with Iraq and Iran.

Weapons.

Weapons of war or of the chase comprised axes, spears, daggers, arrows, and maces. The blade-axes or celts of copper were of two types one long and narrow and the other short and broad.

Copper and bronze hoard from Harappa.

This hoard contained a large variety of copper and bronze tools, implements, weapons, utensils and miscellaneous objects including thirteen axes, with or without shoulders, eight long and narrow axes, two double-axes, eleven daggers, one mace head, thirteen spear-heads and flaying knives, one lance head one arrow-head, one chopper, two saws, ten chisals, two cast bars for making chisel, a flat strip, a stylus, a beam of a weighing scale, a semi-oval hollow terminal, five solid bangles, three hollow bangles, a thin bowl with tapering sides and large folded sheets of copper.

CASE 8: SHELL, BONE AND IVORY.

Shell objects.

Shell was extensively used in the manufacture of dippers, cups, ladles, balls, beads, discs and ornaments and for inlay. It is not yet known how pieces of inlay were fretted out. The favourite designs include petals, stepped patterns, cross, crescent, heart-and eye-shapes and leaf.

Bone and ivory objects.

Bone and ivory objects comprise casting-sticks, handles, combs, collyrium sticks and gamesmen. The casting sticks were presumably used by the fortune-tellers.

Objects which afford proof of intercourse between the Indus Valley and Mesopotamia.

1. Seals, cylindrical and with horned deities.
2. Fragments of a vessel of steatite.
3. Etched carnelian beads.
4. Spiral needles.
5. Stone toilet-box.
6. Heart-shaped piece of bone-inlay.
7. Knobbed pottery.
8. Jar-covers.

CASE 9: POTTERY FROM THE HABITATION AREAS.

The Indus Valley pottery is wheel-made and well-fired and generally shows a thick red fabric, often treated with a bright red slip. The plain types include offering stands, beakers, bowls, goblets, dishes, basins, pans saucers, cups, ladles, jar-stands, heaters and storage-jars. Though the plain types predominate, painted ware is not uncommon. The painted designs are executed in black on dark-red slip and consist of foliated and geometrical devices, among which the interlocking circle, ' vase ', comb and scale motifs are commonest. Animal-motifs are rare.

CASE 10: POTTERY FROM CEMETERY HAT HARAPPA.

Cemetery H represents a culture alien to and later than the Indus Culture, its pottery being distinct from that of the latter in fabric, shape and decoration. The cemetery consists of two strata, the upper characterized by fractional burials contained in large burial-pots, and the lower by extended inhumations tinguished by a group of smaller vessels. Though the two strata are distinguished by a marked difference of burial customs and an apparent divergency of pottery-types, dictated obviously by a difference of function, a community of technique and pattern enables us to regard them as successive phases of the same culture. The characteristic designs stars, fish, peacocks, oxen and goats—are common to both the strata. There is no doubt that some of the scenes depicted on the large burial-pots have a mythological significance

CASE 11: POTTERY FROM PREHISTORIC SITES OF SOUTHERN BALUCHISTAN.

Pottery from Nal.

This pottery is mainly pale or straw-coloured with designs applied in sepia or black and filled in after firing with blue, green, red, yellow, or white. Though it has some affinity with Amri pottery it is on the whole distinctive as much for its fabric, type and polychromy as for its painted designs which include the omega, stepped pattern and circle enclosed within the arms of a multiple cross. Third millenium B.C.

Pottery from Shahi-Tump

This pottery is funerary and is distinguished by a pale grey fabric with designs, mostly geometrical, executed by careless brush-work. Though it bears a partial affinity to pottery from Susa I, it represents a distinctive culture. Third millenium B.C.

THE LOHANAS

BY T. S. THADANI.

Sind is said to be the original homeof Lohanas from where they migrated to Cutch and Kathiawar after the conquest by the Arabs in 711 A.D. They are now divided in 3 distinct classes : Sindhi Lohana-Cutch Lohana and Halai Lohana. Halai is from Halar, N.W. part of Kathiawar. Halai that is Kathiawary Lohana considers himself superior to-both of those in Cutch and Sind. In Kathiawar the Lohanas are Vaishnavas and are particular about their food and drink. In Sind they are not. Cutch Lohana is also not so. rigid as the Halai Lohana. A Lohana in Sind is not expelled from his community for having gone across the sea and visiting the Malichas as was done in Kathiawar and Cutch. Lohanas at first took part in managing the state affairs and wars and considered themselves Rajputs. The Kshatriya or Rajput group of castes is essentially an occupation group composed of all clans following the Hindu Rituals and who undertook the work of government. Later on, the Lohanas took to commerce and other professions and are now classed all Vaish. In Sind the Lohanas usually object to no occupation that will bring a sustenance.

Who are these Lohanas? Whence do they come?.

According to the information gathered by me I will try and answer these questions. If anybody has better information he would kindly come out with it for the enlightment of those interested in the history of Sind and its people.

Some believe that the Lohanas are the descendants of Luv, son of Sri Ramchander. They state that Lohana should be Luv-ana, which means belonging to Luv. But this is not supported by the history of Sind that is available. Lohanas are found only in Sind, Cutch, and a portion of Kathiawar, and not in other parts of India except those that have migrated from Sind, Cutch and Kathiawar.

It is a fact that Luv did not come to Sind, which is the native place of all the Lohanas.—Luv ruled and lived in Koshla, present U.P. There are no Lohanas in the U.P. and the Punjab. How is it that Luv did not leave any descendants in the province that he ruled over and lived in. All Luv's descendants could not hove migrated to Sind, Cutch and Kathiawar. The lowest estimate of the period of Ramayan is said to be-5000 B.C. If the Lohanas in Sind were descendants of Luv, they must have existed when Alexander came to Sind in 323 B.C. Lohanas were prominent race. No mention of the clan is made by Alexander's Historians, that means that the Lohanas did not exist when Alexander came to Sind. At Patelene or Bahmanabad and the parts of Sind round about this place which was later the home of the Lohans'. Alexandar found a tribe of "Moer" or Mer or Med's. These were the people that came to Sind with the Persians.

direct and through the Punjab in 525 B.C. and earlier and settled in the Deltha of the river-Indus which was flowing through the territory. This Delta was later occupied by the tribe which came to be called Lohanas. A mention of the existence of Lohanas is made in the history in the biginning of the Christian era-by the Arab writers. This is the period when the tribe came to be called Lohana came to Sind and settled in the part of Sind which was recognised as the stronghold of Lohanas and as mentioned by various writers.

The statement that Lohanas came from a village near Multan called Lohapur is not supported-by History. No mention of this village is found in any old history ; nor is any wholesale exodus from this part is mentioned in any history in the-beginning of the Christian era.

Nor are these people from Lahore which is supposed to have been called Loharkot in the olden days. The-Chinese traveller in the 7th century does not mention existence of this place. 'Sir Aurel Stein states that Lohar-Kot was not Lahore-but a fort near-Kashmere in olden day'.

ELLIOT. Lohana is the designation of a powerful tribe which at that period, under an apparent confusion of terms is said to have included-both the Summa and Lakha Clans. In the days of Chaeh, Lohanas were in the same subordinate position as the Sammas and Lakhas.

After Alexander, Sind came under Maurya and Greco-Bactrian kings. They did not come to colonise, but to rule, so no new tribes came with them. From 136 B.C. to 60 A.D. Sind was under the Scythians tribes called Pahlavas and Sakhas. They came through Seistan (Saka-Astan) and colonised in the division of Sind which is still called after their name, viz. SAK-RO (of Saka) with capital at a place near Tatta. These are said to be Sammas and Lakhas of later date. After Sakas came Kushans (a tribe of Scythian race) who ruled over Sind from 60 A.D. to 276 A.D. Alberuni calls Kaniska of Kushan tribe, King of Tibetan House.

Rasid-ud-din in Renaudot's Fragments Arabs Pable, states : Sind is said to have been divided into four principalities by Ayand son of Kafaud who reigned some time after Alexander the Great. These four principalities are named Zor, Askalandusa, Samid, Lohana. These were the provinces when Arabs invaded Sind.

The Kushans were a tribe of the people called by the Chinese historians Yueh-Chih or the Moon Tribe. These people were agriculturist who raised wheat in River Valley and Garden cultivation. From China they were driven westward about 170 B.C. They first conquered Bactria and the region of the Oxus Valley ; then the Kabul Valley and finally Northern India. The successor of Kajula and Wima Kadphises was the mighty Emperor Kaniska whose winter capital was Purusapura and whose empire extended from Centraj Asia to the borders of Bengal. From Purusapura (Peshawar) the Kushans went to the south by the River and settled in the Indus Delta in 60 A.D. The Delta was very rich in soil and was the best place to colonise The Kushans settled here and are mentioned by the Geographers of India by their Indian name Abisaras.

This statement that the Kushans came and settled in the Delta of Sind is confirmed by the archaeological discoveries in Sind.

Mr. Henry Cousens, M.R.A.S., late Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India in his book The Antiquities of Sind, published in 1929, states about the Budhist stupas as under:

Five stupas are mentioned in this book; these form the string up the Valley of the Indus:

Karu jo Daro....near Mirpurkhas.
Thul Mir Rukan....near Moro.
Depar Gangro (Sawandi)... near Brahamanabad.
Sudheran jo Dharo....near Tando Mahomedkhan.
Remains of an unidentified stupa....near Jarak.

All stupa remains in Sind are of one class and manifestly of the same age.

Brick ornament was of the same character as that found at Jamal-Garhi in Yusufzai countary a most on the borders of Kashmir. Near Peshawar called Indo-Corinthian style practised in this region in the beginning of the Christian era. The very same kind of bricks were also found at Shorkol in the Punjab. Judging from the style of letters upon them General Cunningham states the dates of the building from A.D. 79 to 319.

Mr. Bhandarkar of the Archaeological Department thinks the original stupa cannot be later than the time of Kanishka, and we shall not be far wrong if we assign it to the beginnig of the Christian era This applies to all stupas.

Mujmatu-t-twarikh tells us that Budhist settlement of Sawandi (Depar Ghangro) as having been built by the King of Kashmir during an expedition to Sind about the beginning of the Christian &c. The King referred to was Kaniska. His dominions included Sind also Kanishka was given to acts of piety and these stupas were built as act of piety.

Ptolemy, an Egyptian Astromoner and Geographer who flourished in Alexandria about the middle of the second century A.D. writes in his "Treatise on Geography" (the portion which describes India was translated by Mr. J. W. McCrindle, M.A., M.R.A.S.) as follows:

> "All the country along the rest of the course of the Indus is called by the general name of Indo-Skythia; of this the insular portion formed by the bifurcation of the river towards its mouth is Patellene and the region above this is Ahiria; and the region about the mouth of the Indus and Gulf of Kanthi (Cutch) is "Syrastram" (Gujrat).

"Ahiria"—the country of the Abhiras (the Ahris of common speech) lay to the east of the Indus, above where it bifurcates to form the Delta. In Sanskrit their name is employed to designate generally the pastoral tribes that inhabit the lower district, as far as Sind. That Ahiria is the "Ophir"

of Scripture is an opinion that has been maintained by scholars of eminence. " I am told that when Rev. Charles Andrews first came to Sind he enquired as to where the part of the country was, the people of which were called Opbir from where gold was sent to Iraq.

Major General M. R. Haig in his book writes that Ahiria was a small district between Hyderabad and Patelene.

Tod, in his classification in his Annals of Rajastan, puts Abhir or Ahir as agricultural or pastoral tribes of Mountaineers in Kashmir.

Mr. Smith in the Early History of India writes that Abisaras is Abhisara in the modern Kashmere State which at one time was part of Modern Tibet.

Sir Aurel Stein's translation of Kalana's Rajtarangini, i.e. Chronicles of the Kings of Kashmir stases that Lahora. Dynasty ruled over Kashmir in the 11th century A.D. The first king of this dynasty was Nara of Darvabhisara. Darvo was a Kashmer frontier station, i.e.Nara was an Abisara from the Kashmere border station. It is also stated in this chronicle that the mountain fastness was the original home of the Lohara Dynasty, i.e. the present Thibet or Loh. The combined name of the Darvas and Abhisara are mentioned in various ethnographical lists, furnished by the Mababharat, the Purans and Brahatsamhita along with those of tribes belonging to the Punjab.

From the evidence available it appears that Darvabhisaras as a geographical term comprised the whole tract of the lower and middle hills lying between Vitasta (Jhelum) and Candrabhaga (Chinab).

The tribe described by the Chinese as Kwei-shwayg (Kushans) is the same Abhisaras described by the Indian. The placeof the origin and the profession is same of both as described by Indian and Chinese writers. This tribe originally started from the place called Loh (part of Tibet) and finally settled in the Delta of the river Indus which fact is recognised by the well-known geographers.

Mr. R. S. Pandit, another translator of Kalhanas Rajatarangini states that the south of the present Tibet is still called " Loh " Abisaras or Kushans came from this paart of Tibet.

Sir Aurel Stein states that Loh was either a name of some Tibetan territory or the word means " foreign country ".

The Kushans or Abisaras being from the country called Loh, they were called by the original settlers as people belonging to Loh, i.e. Lohana. This way of classifying people by the name of place of their origin is no new thing in Sind. It is an old custom.

The abode of Abisaras in Sind, as described by Ptolemy, is the same as that of Lohanas, as described by later day writers.

This is the same area the residents of which wer ecalled Lohanas by the historians of Sind.

Chachnama makes a mention of the existence of Lohana in thedelta of Sind during the Rao Dynasty a Lohana (Agham Lohana) was the Governor of this district (the prince of Brahmanabad, that is to say the ruler of the tribes of Lakhah, Samnah, and Saltah) pp. 31-35, 40—42,54, Part I.

Tod stated (1832) this tribes is n umerous in Dhat (present Thar and Parkar) and Talpura (the country of the Talpurs, i.e. Sind).

A mention is made in the Sind History of 1200 A.D. that near about Bahamanabad was a fort called Lohana Kot.

Haig in his book the Indus Delta country (1852) states that in the Taluka of Shahdadpur there was a chanel called Lohana Channel.

Haig in his Sind Gazetteer, 1876, mentions existence of Lohana Patan (Ferry) on Timuhi near Shahadadpur.

The tribe that settled in the Delta of the River Indus in the beginning of the Christian Era were known under four names in four places:

1. KWEI SHWANG (KUSHANS) in China.
2. ABISARAS.....in India.
3.* LOHARA (of LOH) in Kashmere.
4.* LOHANA (beloning to LOH) in Sind.

*. As these people were from a part of China (Tibet) called LOH.

The Budhist religion of the Lohana was the same as practised in Tibet.

The family priest of Lahana is Saraswat Brahmin. These appear to be descendants of Saraastivadins (Theologians) employed by Kamishka for for the study of Budhist religion. Saraswat Brahins of Sind are said to have come from Kashmere.

Budhism has been supplanted by Shiviac Philosophy in Kashmere, so it did among the Lohanas in Sindi.

Digitized by M. H. Panhwar Institute of Sindh Studies, Jamshoro.